/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[[174]] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

286 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[[614]] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Kunko,
Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[[816]] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai
and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
622 lent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/121/

621 616 [171] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

[200] [192] These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [173] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. [123] Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [196] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors 621 616 614 ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/124 cont./

Social Organization

•622 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Chipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Chipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [345] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

Carangas—
Chipaya

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/342 cont./

*796 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was
159 never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals,
strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling,
rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic
pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art,
and I believe that the Čipaya insisted on having him with them
during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them
[781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have
lacked without him.

159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the
791 most intelligent of all the Čipaya with whom I had dealings. His
small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never
missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His
facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his
jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were
the most respectable of men.

Festivals and Rites

*796 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).
●622 The first of January, the day on which the transmission of
powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the
only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall
mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the
[354] Čipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small
church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow
candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising
from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside
their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating
[152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were
sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They
were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had
placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

/343 cont./

*796 627 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the 692 576 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They [203] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

622 535 [292] Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the outgoing alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He [301] [824] [939] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead. Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

Carangas—
Chipaya

/344 cont./ white banner, he led the troup of musicians and Brandishing his
622 dancers, stopping in front of each hut to obtain a tribute of alcohol
535 for himself and his troup. In exchange for this gift he gave his
[931] momentary host the privilege of seizing the white banner and
putting himself at the head of the dancers. The end of the day was
[913] only a succession of rounds and drinking which went on until complete exhaustion.

622 The second day. On the next day, noticing that all the Indians were going toward a particular hut, I in turn went. There I found about 30 individuals, men and women, squatting on the floor around the alcalde taking office, who was seated on a pile of cloth behind a table facing the door. He was holding his stick of authority in his arm and had bunches of flowers and a napkin full of coca in front of him. His physiognomy did not act in his favor; his ravaged, closed face was scarred with smallpox; his thick features, aquiline nose, and projecting chin gave him an air which was both cruel and bestial. I sat down next to the men immediately to the right of the host. All were keeping a profound, almost disturbing silence. At long intervals a man would rise to profer his
[906] bag of coca to the alcalde. The latter would take a few leaves from it and tender his own chuspa with a bored gesture. Others moved toward the table, took a pinch of coca leaves, some of which they left in front of the flowers, and swallowed the rest.
[982] The drinkers never forgot their libations directed, as were the offerings, toward the flowers on the table. On that day the chicha
[913] of maize and quinua, in exception to the rule, competed with the alcohol. It was served by the women in terra-cotta bowls. I had the opportunity to be present that afternoon at a scene, the significance of which remains a mystery to me. A man got up and greeted a young woman in the usual manner; /345/ she replied to his greeting and went to kneel at the head of the audience. The individual who had greeted her took the young woman's head and shoved it against that of a man squatting next to her. Several
[152] seconds later the young woman gave way to weeping identical to that with which the church had resounded the day before. Silence

/345 cont./

● 627 re-established itself little by little, and during the entire day the Indians remained in their hut, as apathetic as I had found them in the morning.

*796 The festival of San Geronimo (January 7)

[203] [204] Very early in the morning an Indian ran through the saya tuanta, beating on a drum and stopping before each hut to wake the inhabitants and call them to the festival which was about to begin. Not knowing the significance of this household-rousing, I attributed little importance to it and thus missed the initial [182] ceremonies. I could ascertain, however, that two piglets had been sacrificed on the threshold of the chapel of the saya: the cross which stands in front of the door, the outside walls, and the altar had been splattered with fresh blood. Inside two tables had been set up on which coca leaves had been spread out. Some Indians [276] squatted in the chapel chewing coca leaves and drinking alcohol, [273] preceding each mouthful with a prayer and libation. Espíritu *796 Mamani subsequently recited the text of the prayer to me, uttered, 539 no doubt, at the moment when the blood of the pigs is sprinkled:

Araxpačᵡa	auki,	suma	tiempo	apanital'a,	wainu
Sky	lord,	good	weather	send me,	good

mara,	suma	mara,	araxpačᵡ-patruna,		todos
weather,	good	weather,	sky	master,	all

wawataki.	Lo mismo	Virxin-taika	xumapeuyuwaxista,
children for.	Likewise	Virgin-earth	thou feedest me,

katokanta	(taki)	wawanakataki,	todos	mondos,
thou wilt receive	(all?)	children of,	all	the world,

wawanakataki	ukᵡaro	todos	mondos	pakᵡalis	aka
children of	then	all	the world	animals	these

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

A 346 [778] We stop for a moment at the village, church which is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths taken from Tiahuanacu. The early paintings in their charming frames are in bad condition and some much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof; there is an embossed silver altar as we find them even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia, and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb, and was gone.

A 346 353 358

A 782 788

U 114 489 We followed the road towards the lake till we came to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After a short distance the track ended. The professor said: "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material and followed on foot, the professor like the Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material represented a considerable weight which at that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared a number of small adobe houses. The professor was still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting group to the rear. But finally realizing that there is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched, we approached the village, where Vellard called on the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must go to the house of the local centenarian, where we should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-in-law of some eighty-odd years.

U [361] 114 123 622 104

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanacu --Analyst]

[1.309-A]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

142
291
301
622

Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa šu; young girl = pax-pak-uš; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is 591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male 163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára 563 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction 548 of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, 832 and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in ef- 622 fect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *hilacata*, commonly called *ilacate* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde?*) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *xoraturčički* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of 692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). 701 Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *hilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[28] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *huchhu* (*huču*) or *si:a quir-* 178 *kitha* (*kirkit'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the 527 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of 535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilanča* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panisa" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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[28] Bertonio, *Vocabylario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.